

Dr. H. S. P. with

34
75 ✓

THE TWIN MONSTERS:

AND HOW

NATIONAL LEGISLATION

MAY HELP TO SOLVE

THE MORMON PROBLEM,

AND RESTORE TO SOCIETY, SOMEWHAT OF THE SAC-
RAMENTAL CHARACTER OF THE RITE OF

HOLY MATRIMONY.

By REV. BALLARD S. DUNN.

NEW YORK:
JAMES POTT & CO., PUBLISHERS,
12 ASTOR PLACE.

American * Institute * of * Christian * Philosophy

CHARLES F. DEEMS, D.D., LL.D., *President.*

Vice-Presidents,

JOHN BASCOM, D.D., LL.D., Wis.
Hon. KEMP P. BATTLE, LL.D., N. C.
Hon. THOMAS F. BAYARD, Del.
W. C. CATTELL, D.D., LL.D., Pa.
Rev. BISHOP CHENEY, Ill.
Rt. Rev. BISHOP GREEN, Miss.
R. D. HITCHCOCK, D.D., LL.D., N. Y.
MARK HOPKINS, D.D., LL.D., Mass.
Rev. BISHOP HURST, Iowa.
Rt. Rev. BISHOP JAGGAR, Ohio.
Gen. G. W. CUSTIS LEE, Va.
Rev. BISHOP MCTYEIRE, Tenn.
P. H. MELL, D.D., LL.D., Ga.
FRANCIS L. PATTON, D.D., LL.D., N. J.
NOAH PORTER, D.D., LL.D., Conn.
ALEXANDER WINCHELL, LL.D., Mich.

Executive Committee,

J. H. RYLANCE, D.D.
S. M. HAMILTON, D.D.
Rev. SAMUEL H. VIRGIN.
A. H. BRADFORD, D.D.
O. H. TIFFANY, D.D.
Rev. A. MACKAY-SMITH.
T. E. F. RANDOLPH, Esq.

Trustees.

Mr. CORNELIUS VANDERBILT.
Mr. WILLIAM O. MCDOWELL.
HOWARD CROSBY.
Gen. CLINTON B. FISH.
Mr OWEN O. SCHIMMEL.
Mr. CHARLES M. DAVIS, *Secretary.*
Mr. W. O. MCDOWELL, *Treasurer.*

This society has been founded for the purpose of promoting the following objects of high importance to both religion and science:—

First.—To investigate fully and impartially the most important questions of philosophy and science, but more especially those that bear upon the great truths revealed in Holy Scripture.

Second.—To associate MEN OF SCIENCE AND AUTHORS, who have already been engaged in such investigations, and all others who may be interested in them, in order to strengthen their efforts by association; and, by bringing together the results of such labors, after full discussion, in the printed transactions of an institution, to give greater force and influence to proofs and arguments which might be little known, or even disregarded, if put forward merely by individuals.

Third.—To consider the mutual bearings of the various scientific conclusions arrived at in the several distinct branches into which science is now divided, in order to get rid of contradictions and conflicting hypotheses, and thus promote the real advancement of true science; and to examine and discuss all supposed scientific results with reference to final causes, and the more comprehensive and fundamental principles of philosophy proper, based upon faith in the existence of one eternal God, the creator of all things.

Fourth.—To publish papers read before the society in furtherance of the above objects, along with full reports of the discussions thereon, in the form of a journal, or as the transactions of the Institute. At present the organ of the Institute is "CHRISTIAN THOUGHT," published bi-monthly.

Fifth.—When subjects have been fully discussed, to make the results known by means of lectures of a more popular kind, and to publish such lectures.

Sixth.—To interest Christian men and women, *learned and unlearned*, in the production, the circulation, and the reading of a literature which shall promote intellectual with religious culture.

Membership and Subscription.

There is no initiation fee. The annual subscription for members is five dollars. One hundred dollars will constitute a life member if contributed to the Endowment Fund, and fifty dollars if given to the General Fund.

Members are entitled to a free copy, by mail, of each number of the official publication which contains the papers read before the Institute; also a free ticket to every course of lectures delivered under the auspices of the Institute; also to a free use of the Institute's library.

What the Institute especially needs is an Endowment of \$20,000. Who will give it?

For further information address the Secretary,

Mr. CHARLES M. DAVIS, 4 Winthrop Place, New York.

vault
M243.9
D922t
1884

2500
FANE 30/10

HOW NATIONAL LEGISLATION MAY HELP TO
SOLVE THE MORMON PROBLEM, AND RESTORE
TO SOCIETY, SOMEWHAT OF THE SACRA-
MENTAL CHARACTER OF THE RITE
OF HOLY MATRIMONY.

I.

IF the founder of Mormonism be judged by the generally accepted estimate of his character, and attainments; he will be dismissed, by the unphilosophical, as an ignorant, unscrupulous, scheming adventurer.

That he was ignorant, at the beginning of his career, no one can doubt, or deny: but that he was both ignorant and *unintellectual*, the serpent-like wisdom, and permanency of his work, sufficiently disprove.

That he was unscrupulous, and a schemer, the manner in which he converted Baldwin's weird manuscript into the "Book of Mormon," and then palmed it off upon his kindred, and associates, as a supernatural find, under the guidance of an angel, is convincing evidence.

That the wondrously wise, cohesive kingdom, which he organized, in this country, should be regarded as *anomalous*, and spoken of, by the unreflecting, as an "*exotic*," is quite natural.

But to say that the evolution of crime, in Puritan New England, might as reasonably have been expected to produce Joseph Smith, and his early co-workers; and Noyes, the inventor of "Free love," and founder of the "Oneida Community," in this State; as that she should curse this country with numerous other vicious religious experiments, and deluge the land with almost free divorce, is more scientific, and philosophical: and that the baleful reactive influence of one ism, upon another ism, both springing from a common source, would be seen, in a comparatively short time, might reasonably have been expected.

If one stands upon an elevated plateau, just where a brimming lake,—fed by comparatively pure springs,—pours its waters out to the Eastward, and to the Westward, down opposite inclines, in about equal volume; and he should follow the one stream, he may soon find that it has taken up, from the soil, and various mineral salts, so many poisonous impurities, that the water has become quite unwholesome.

Then, should he return, and explore the other stream, he may soon find its waters equally unwholesome; but from *apparently*, totally different causes: which turn out, however, upon careful analysis, to be *identical* in their essence with the other.

Now let this allegorical lake represent New England: and the one stream shall be Mormonism, and the other shall be modern Spiritualism, and the Divorce-made-easy system, all evolved by New England.

We are now prepared for the question, “What made Mormon polygamy *possible*, in this country?”

The tersest, and truest answer to this inquiry is, “the *unchastity* that makes divorces easy, and popular.”

I have already intimated that Joseph Smith, the New England adventurer, in the broad field of rascality and revelation, was far from being a fool.

I am now prepared to express the opinion, that he was one of the broadest, ablest, and most practical thinkers, and planners, that the Nineteenth Century has produced; and to offer some reasons for entertaining such an opinion.

If we consider nothing beyond the vigor, and accuracy, with which he took in the political situation, as early as 1840, it will go far towards establishing the correctness of this startling opinion.

When I say that he so clearly perceived the character, and outcome, of the political elements, then in conflict, that he predicted the civil war, that only trained, far-seeing statesmen, such as Calhoun and Webster, had then begun to fear; it sounds marvelous.

But when I assert, that he not only *predicted* the civil war, as his writings clearly prove; but that he fixed the *place* of its commencement, *exactly*, and the *time*, very nearly, it looks almost like prescience.

These are facts: and they stand, to-day, to his followers, for a prophecy, and the fulfillment of a prophecy.

What, but an intuitive knowledge of human nature, and the motives that impel human action, that amounts to genius, could have enabled him to do this?

It is vain to reply that the fact of his running for President, is proof of his vanity, and stupidity; as is often asserted.

He ran for President, not that he hoped for an election; but because there was *money in it*, in addition to being the best possible means of advertising Joseph Smith, and Mormonism.

No one thinks of accusing Ben Butler of being a fool, for running a similar race, for *similar reasons*: but every philosopher, every "discerner of the signs of the times," who foresees the coming conflict, knows why Butler, the *double* of Joseph Smith, in all that pertains to "cheeky" cunning, and unscrupulousness, unfurled his sails, just *when*, and *as* he did.

He sees that the political economy that deifies covetousness, and exhausts itself in teaching how to "get all we can, and keep all we have," will precipitate a conflict.

He hears, in the distance, probably as distinctly as Joseph Smith did, "the war-cries of the two armies": the little army of monopolists, defiantly asserting that all they possess, is theirs, and that they mean to keep it: while the "Dynamiters," "Socialists," and "Strikers," generally, are saying, not under their breath, by any means; "What we have missed, by the accident of birth, and fail to get, because of *your* greed, we mean to have, by *physical strength, and force of numbers*."

Butler thinks he foresees all of this, and hopes to be a leader, in the strife, on the winning side.

Does it not appear, then, from this illustrious example, of probable foresight, in another son of New England, that there may have been more of *method* in Joseph Smith's presidential race, as a part of his plan to carry out his supernaturalism—so-called, than the world has given him credit for? If not, I am prepared to prove that he not only took in the political situation, very thoroughly; but that he grasped the sectarian situation, quite as well; and launched his kingdom, accordingly.

He not only saw that the religious people of this country,

were a prey to sectism; and that with the silly cries of the "Lo heres!" and the "Lo theres!" the tide of unchastity was rising; but that he must needs put the stamp of sanctity upon lust; and by so doing, draw unto himself, and save, and control, the licentiousness, that the oncoming upturning, of the fundamental moralities, would emancipate.

To this end, after perfecting his marvelous organization, based upon the Book of Mormon, Joseph Smith provided for the evolution of his Kingdom; by teaching his followers that revelations would be vouchsafed to him, from time to time, for the guidance of the faithful.

Note the breadth and shrewdness of the man.

He saw that the religious mind of this country, and particularly of New England, had broken away from a semi-crystalline state—such as had produced the "Scarlet Letter"* era—into a state of flux; upon a portion of which, any sort of mould could be placed, if only the new religion, would enjoin *gratification, here*, and hold out the sure promise of Salvation *hereafter*; freed from the onerous load of Puritan cant, and self-denial.

He saw, too, that to meet the requirements of the situation, and make the work permanent, a voice from the Invisible, more liberal to the passions of men, than the Westminster Catechism, and at the same time, a more direct communication from the source of "all authority, and power," was necessary.

Hence; he overslaughed all warring opinions, among his followers, by a "*Thus saith the Lord*;" which he obtained by means of his mediumistic powers.

* "The first laws of Massachusetts, after the manner of the Jews, made adultery a capital crime. In 1699, persons convicted of this crime were to be set on a gallows with a rope round the neck, and then they were to be whipped on the way to the jail, not exceeding forty stripes, and were to have a capital A, two inches long, 'of color contrary to their clothes,' sewed on the sleeve or back of the outer garment, so as to be in open view, and if such persons were found without this mark they were to be whipped, not exceeding fifteen stripes, for every neglect to wear it."—Woolsey, p. 219.

Having intimated that Mormonism, and modern Spiritualism, —as practised, and believed in, by such men as Judge Edmonds, Robert Dale Owen, and Wallace, the eminent English scientist —are *one*, and the *same*, in their *essence*,—and having said that by analysis, both streams, flowing out of the allegorical lake, contain the same ingredients; it is time I should define their difference, in outward manifestation.

A short and true definition would be: *Mormonism*, is Spiritualism, *confined*: while *Spiritualism* is Mormonism *turned loose*.

Spiritualism, as practised outside of Mormondom; revelates for the *love of delusion*, and the *license* it obtains from the invisible: claiming that its information comes from the spirits of the departed.

But Mormonism revelates by *authority*, through the *head*, or *president*, of the so-called Mormon Church: claiming that its revelations are direct from Deity.

There is this further, practical difference: Spiritualism, often contradicts, and ridicules sacred Scripture, just according to the religious, or irreligious bent of the revelator's mind.

Mormonism never casts a doubt upon the truth of the Bible: but makes every revelation to *supplement* sacred Scripture; and in fact, to rest upon the Bible, as much as the New Testament does upon the Old.

The great wisdom of this rule, and practice, with them, is at once manifest to the mind of any theologian; for they do not offend the religious bias of any of their followers, formed by any kind of teaching drawn from the Scriptures.

But by this means, they produce *homogeneity* among their followers; and blend into perfect *unity*, all shades of theological opinion, by an *authority*, as absolute and *satisfactory*, as when the Lord of Glory revealed Himself to His disconsolate disciples, “as they journeyed to Emmaus”: and the Mormon heart “*warms*,” as genuinely, as did the hearts of Cleopas and his companions: when the Mormon priesthood begins “at Moses and all the prophets, to expound the Scriptures concerning Christ.”

I have deemed it expedient, to say thus much, of the founder

of Mormonism, that the people of the United States, may no longer underrate their antagonist; for this ism, presents, to-day, one of the *most* serious, of the many serious questions, that confront our government.

I cannot put the remedy, into better form, than the proposed solution, of the dangerous problem, which I find, in a letter that I wrote, eight years ago.

With a sense of delicacy, one shrinks from quoting his own writings: but I do it, in this instance, simply because time has verified the correctness, of statements, then made, and rendered more manifest, the necessity for applying the remedy as then proposed.

The following extract, is from the letter mentioned above.

“Ever since the execution of John D. Lee, one of the fiends of the Mountain Meadows massacre, wild, sensational, and for the most part, baseless rumors, intended to affect, not only the Mormon leaders, but the whole population, have been telegraphed throughout the country, with the view of arousing public sentiment, in the hope that it will take shape, in the form of summary proceedings against the Mormons.

“Upon principle, this is all wrong, because it is wicked, and false; while as a policy, it is the old mistake over again.

“The Mormons have only to wait patiently for the reaction, which is sure to follow, to reap an abundant harvest of converts, in the persons of ignorant men and women, in whom a strong sense of justice, easily overrides their immature reasoning powers, and lands them on the side of the persecuted.

“Every lying telegram sent over the wires, every false letter sent abroad, and every illegal prosecution, yields some sort of return, for the upbuilding of Mormonism; for their leaders are shrewd enough, in the absence of actual bloodshed and violence, to make these false issues of ‘their enemies,’ do the work of the needed persecution.

“‘The blood of the martyrs, the seed of the Church,’ is not only true of the Church of God; but it is true of every form of false religion. Without persecution they languish and die; with persecution, they flourish and prosper.

“If Mormonism had never been driven from home, its women

insulted, and its prophets* slain, it would long since, have shared the fate of the thousand other religious delusions that have died for lack of violent opposition.

“Knowing this, as I do, and believing that *action*—just, firm, decisive, and statesmanlike—has been too long delayed, and having an earnest desire to do these people a real service,—though all unappreciated, as it will be, by them for the present,—I ask permission, through your widely-circulating journal,† to indicate a mode of treatment, that will enable our great government, honorably to repair its past mistakes, while it metes out, even-handed justice, to its citizens, in criminal error, tempered with Christ-like mercy, and concern for the innocent victims of a sensuous, religious delusion.

“I ask this permission, in the hope, that some real statesman, already in the National Legislature, will take the pains to verify my statements, and then, urge upon Congress, the adoption of the plan proposed, or something wiser, and more catholic, if possible.

“The competent physician, first informs himself, as to the nature of his patient’s disease, before prescribing for him.

“Following, then, the example of the physician, let us inquire

* One, unacquainted with the genius of Mormons, might think that Joseph Smith displayed a lack of wisdom, in pressing matters to the point of a collision, with an armed mob; but this would be a mistake. An occasional mobbing, with some bloodshed, were *necessary* to his plan, for stimulating the growth of his kingdom; but he always took particular care to keep out of harm’s way, *himself*: and in this instance, he *thought* he had provided for his own safety, by getting a pledge from the Governor of Illinois, that he should be *protected*, if he went quietly to jail, and submitted to a legal examination into the charges against him. But the Governor, whom he trusted, did not keep his pledge; and like one of purer heart, and nobler purpose,—him of the Soudan,—he *risked* too much, and fell, by treachery, at the last.

† Chicago Tribune.

as to the character of this troublesome Mormon malady, and get the testimony of those under the dominion of the distemper, as to its effects upon themselves.

“At the very threshold of this inquiry, they inform you, that they *know* their religion came from God, because it was revealed to them, through the Prophet Joseph; and they assert, with equal confidence, that polygamy is *right*, because it was commanded by God, through the Prophet Joseph.

“At this stage of the investigation, you will discover, that the average Mormon, is not amenable to right reason; for he will vehemently contend that Mormonism is *true*, because he *knows* it is true. If asked *how* he knows it to be true, he will quickly inform you, that the spirit of truth, bearing witness with his own spirit, testifies to him that his religion is true.

“You have now the deluded victim, of his own delusion, fairly before you; and you might as well try to convince the inebriate, suffering under a high state of excitement, induced by *delirium tremens*, that there are no serpents besetting him, and no murderers seeking his life, as to try to *reason* a Mormon out of his religious belief.

“Just here, I may be permitted to venture an opinion, as to the origin of Mormon revelations—not the Book of Mormon, that, I believe to be the result of a conscious fraud—and the process by which they are obtained.

“This opinion is founded upon a careful study of the psychological condition of the Mormon mind.

“Their revelations are identical, in character, with so-called spiritualistic revelations; and both are the result of antecedent desire in the heart, and mind, for the thing sought to be revealed.

“The thing is first desired, then expected, and when the revelation comes, it is the result of strong desire and expectancy, otherwise called *faith*, by the Mormons. This accounts for the fact that nothing unpleasant, or distressing, has ever been revealed to a Mormon or Spiritualist.

“Contrast these modern revelations with those recorded in the Bible, foretelling the most awful calamities that were to befall, and as matter of history, did befall Prophets, Kings, and Nations, and the divine source of Scripture revelation will appear, and

appearing, manifest the false, and deceptive character of the modern.

“Their so-called miraculous cures, which have been the means of converting many sensible people to Mormonism, are brought about in the same way,—that is, by desire and expectancy, on the part of the sick, and the healer as well. Of the influence of expectancy, in producing the most remarkable changes in the bodily organs, either curative, or morbid, the history of medicine affords abundant, and varied illustrations; and it operates no less remarkably, in calling forth movements which, not being consciously directed by the person who executes them, have been attributed to supernatural power.

“Balaam, was doubtless a Mormon, in so far as self-deception is concerned; and by the Mormon process, got permission to go with the servants of Balak. He wished to go, because there was *money in it*; he therefore ‘inquired at the mouth of the Lord,’ until desire and expectation, obtained permission to go, while the power to curse, was withheld, and he was forced ‘to bless.’

“Joseph Smith, in like manner, desired many wives, because to a sensual, unscrupulous, emotional nature, like his, sexuality was a great good, in addition to being the ‘*chief corner-stone*,’ upon which he foresaw the possibility of building a kingdom.

“The same kind of desire that blinded the eyes of David, in the matter of Bathsheba, coupled with the hope and expectation of founding an Empire, produced in Joseph Smith, the expectancy, which resulted in the revelation to take many wives.

“The rule, therefore, is, with all false revelations, whether Swedenborgianism, Quakerism, Spiritualism, or Mormonism, antecedently to the revelation, the thing, and the desire for it, have been in the heart of the revelator, and only needed the false light that Satan can cast upon any subject in the mind, or desire in the heart, to cause it to flame forth from the deceived and deceiver, as the light of God.

“Hence the difficulty in the way of reasoning with a Mormon. To him, these false revelations, and miraculous cures, are real. He calls upon his desires, affections, emotions, and expectations and they answer him, just as he would have them answer.

“This description applies to all sincere Mormons; and *all* are

sincere, from the highest, to the lowest, with a few exceptions, in the persons of certain money grabbers, who pretend to believe in it, that they may the better attain their darling object.

“If you ask the more intelligent Mormons, why they violate the laws of Congress, and shock the moral sense of the Nation, by the practice of polygamy, they will inform you that Congress has no power to make such laws, for the simple reason that the Constitution guarantees, ‘the free exercise’ of all religions; that polygamy is a part of their religion, being commanded of God, through the prophet Joseph, and that they have a right to practise it. At this point, the Mormon seems to have the advantage in the discussion; for no candid man can deny, that the Constitution does guarantee, to *all*, ‘the free exercise’ of their religion, whatever that may mean.

“To the Mormon mind, the conclusion is perfectly clear, and logical. Polygamy, with him, is not a crime, but an ‘exalting *virtue*,’ commanded of God, as a part of his religion, ‘the free exercise’ of which the Constitution guarantees. And when I tell you that the Mormons regard the Constitution, as a work of inspiration, designed by God to protect His people, in practising what He has revealed in ‘The latter days,’ what wonder if they resent and endeavor to evade all laws of Congress, that from their standpoint, violate the spirit of the Constitution.

“The unprejudiced, philosophical mind, sees more of justice in the Mormon’s defense against the charge that he is a chronic law-breaker, hurled against him by his ‘enemies,’ than the multitude are willing to admit.

“From the time that Romanism, in the name of religion, forbade the clergy to marry, on down, through all the sects that have interfered with the normal relation of the sexes, to ‘Shakerism,’ in our own day, the polyandry, and promiscuity of Free-loveism, and Church Familism, in our own Country; Mormonism, sees a custom, that has come to be a law, which gives them all the right to regulate the relations of the sexes, as they think; they therefore, resent, and try to evade, any law of Congress, punishing polygamy as a crime.

“Furthermore, Congress not only allowed, but fostered polygamy, for more than ten years. To say that Congress has fos-

tered polygamy, at any time, will sound strangely, in many ears ; but facts are stubborn things, and the facts in this case seem to justify the assertion, in a qualified sense, if not absolutely.

“ And now as to the facts.

“ When Congress gave to Utah an organic act, polygamy was not forbidden by that act ; and yet it was notorious, at that time, that polygamy was extensively practised in the Territory.

“ At this stage of the enquiry the question is pertinent : If Congress did not mean to foster polygamy, as it fostered every other interest of the Mormons, material, moral, and spiritual, by thus giving them a basis of government, why did they not say so, and take vigorous steps to crush the infant evil, before it had time to grow into the hydra-headed monster that it is, able to shock, and horrify, the moral sense of Western Europe and America ?

“ I suppose that the reason why they did not was because the Constitution was in the way.

“ Later on, the government declared war against the Mormons, not on account of polygamy, but for other alleged irregularities and outrages. At the close of that war, when the government recognized the belligerent rights of the Mormons, by sending Commissioners to treat with, and a governor to rule over them ; said governor and commissioners were entertained by Brigham Young, and danced with his many wives.

“ In all these acts, government not only recognized, but fostered polygamy, in that it was conserved, at a time, when a little statesmanship could have cast it out, as an unclean thing, if there had been no Constitution in the way.

“ To one, in this Territory, who stands aloof from political radicalism on the one hand, and the religious fanaticism of Mormonism on the other, studying the situation as far as he may, in the spirit of a Christian philosopher and statesman—the subject is a vast one, involving momentous issues.

“ He sees upon the backbone of this great Continent, a moral and social excrescence, that has firmly taken root, and he plainly foresees that, if the appliances that stimulate its growth be not speedily removed, it will spread southward, into Arizona, and

the Pacific States of Mexico, whence the sparse populations, now beckon them onward, so rapidly, that fifty years may suffice to find its adherents, as many millions, as they now number hundreds of thousands.

“If these strange people be not wisely and effectually restrained, and their all-engrossing delusion of sanctified lust, dissipated, they will set back the moral progress of the millions that will flow unto them, as they have set back, the progress of their present votaries, four thousand years ; and place religious, suffering woman, just where the worship of one God, as revealed to Abraham, found her ; in which degraded relation God, in His wisdom, permitted her to remain, until the perfect law of matrimony as *re-enacted* by the Saviour of mankind, restored her to the holiness of sexual love, in the sacred ‘one’ in ‘*twain*,’ of man and wife, as contradistinguished from the lust that defiles, and the polygamous companionship that degrades.

“And if the unstatesmanlike, ungodly, radical movement against the Mormons, just now urged by certain influential journals, that deal so largely in falsehood and exaggeration, should take the form of ‘*special legislation designed for Utah*,’ the result will be another *mistake*, in point of statesmanship, while Mormonism will receive an impetus, similar in kind, but greater in degree, than any former persecution has yet imparted.

“What then shall be done ?

“My answer to this question is, Let the people of the United States, take this matter in hand, and begin aright. Take away the sheltering arm that protects, alike, polygamy in Utah, free-loveism, polyandry, and promiscuity, as practised by the Oneida community in the great State of New York, and other so-called, religious institutions elsewhere, throughout the Union, based upon abnormal relations of the sexes.

“Let Art. I. of the amendments to the Constitution, which were adopted in 1789, which stands thus :

“‘Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech, or the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for a redress of grievances,’ be so amended that it will read as follows:

“Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech, or the press, or the right of the people, peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances, or respecting an establishment of religion or the free exercise thereof: but Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to prohibit, in any individual, sect or community, the practice of crime, in the name of religion.’

“Not only would this amendment enable Congress to deal *lawfully* with Mormon polygamy, but with a large and increasing number of so-called religions, under the name of ‘Church Familism,’ ‘Marriage Reform,’ ‘Progress,’ etc., etc., which are flooding the country, from New York, Boston, and other great centres of population, with literature more vile and corrupting, than the wildest ravings, and coarsest harangues of Mormonism on the subject of polygamy.

“Upon such an amendment, a national law could be based, that would effectually reach every form of vice, now practised with impunity, in the sacred name of religion.

“The Catholic character of the law, would divest it of the nature of persecution; for instead of being ‘special,’ or ‘class legislation,’ it could be labeled *Universal* legislation, in the interest of morality throughout the country.

“This would take the wind out of the Mormon sails; for he would find himself treated, just as other citizens are treated—something he has never experienced since the rise of Mormonism, and something, I may add, that their leaders dread, more than anything else, for then *persecution* would cease, and they perforce, cease to be the ‘*peculiar people of God,*’ and be tried as common criminals are tried.

“As to the penalties attached to the proposed law, I would make them quite severe, including fines, and imprisonment, at hard labor, and I would make cohabitation proved, evidence sufficient to convict, without reference to marriage ceremonies; and I would punish the woman as well as the man, and all who take part in celebrating, a so-called celestial marriage.

“The lame point in the present law, is, that proof of marriage, is necessary, and that is very hard to get.

“But for the past, I would give almost entire immunity; in-

flicting no greater punishment upon the polygamist, than to require him to *live with*, and *provide for*, his many wives, and children, the remainder of his natural life, with no power to make other disposition of his property, than an equal division among his wives and children.

“This state of things I would permit, not that it would be unmixed with evil, but because, it would be a *less* evil, than the abandonment of the women, which would lead to prostitution, and the consequent disgrace and bastardy of the children.

“Thus would I crystallize the sound moral sense of the nation, into a just and universal law, that would environ Mormonism with an impassable barrier, over which, it could no longer leap, in the name of religion; and with it I would encircle all kindred isms, suffering only that which is ‘pure, and of good report,’ to escape, imprisoning their vices and immoralities, until they rot out, and disappear, with the natural lives, of such as have disgraced the nation, and polluted the name of Christian, by defiling lovely woman, under the guise of religion.”

Thus did I write in 1877; and again in 1880, when the subject was under discussion, at the request of several learned theologians, and statesmen, I prepared a little brief, bringing the argument up from 1877, to 1880, as follows:

“Permit me to add, here, a few words, to the argument of the brochure, herewith presented, in the light of current events.

“The recent decision of the Supreme Court, in the *Reynold’s* case, has rendered National action, by the people, none the less imperative.

“That decision grossly violates the *letter* of the Constitution, but it is in accord with the spirit of that instrument, as nearly all Americans understand the spirit of our Constitution. But to the Mormon mind—in which the belief that the Constitution was given by God, to protect His people, while restoring to His Church, and society, the blessed doctrine, and practice, of polygamy, has made a permanent, and almost *ineradicable* lodgment—it is *unjust* and a gross violation, of both the *letter* and *spirit* of the Constitution.

“Nothing short, of the most positive contradiction of their *vox Dei*, by the *vox populi*, will convince them of their error in this

behalf. As long as the constitution remains as it is, every attempt to check the growth, or suppress the evils of Mormonism, will but stimulate the one, and develop the other.

“I arrive at this conclusion, after a thorough survey of the situation, and much free conversation, with all classes, on the subject. Their theologians and philosophers tell them, that just such persecution, as the Supreme Court, has brought to bear, is *necessary* to test their faith, and prove their devotion to God, and His cause; while the best brain, of the Mormons, is employed in devising means to evade the law, and at the same time, increase the love for, and practice of polygamy.

“If we may judge the future, by the past, it is safe to predict that the foreign circular of our able Secretary of State (Evarts) on this subject, will do more to build up Mormonism, than any one thing that has happened for many years; for the simple reason, that there are, in any given community, just so many minds that are susceptible of Mormonism; and these perverse, abnormal intellects, will receive it, whenever, and wherever, presented, no matter what the penalties; and in obedience to the laws of heredity, as well as culture, their descendents will continue Mormons.

“It follows then, that the more they are advertised, throughout the world, with their present facilities for ‘gathering to Zion,’ the faster they will grow. Hitherto their free advertisers have mainly been lecturers, letter-writers, book-makers, ‘Mission jurists,’ and the sectarian pulpit.

“*Now*, they have *free, international* advertising; and have risen to the dignity of a great international question, and the result will be, in my humble judgment, an influx of foreign Mormons, greater than ever, which will encourage and arouse the native element to the most intense zeal and activity.

“What stronger proof could be presented to their diseased minds, that this is God’s work, than the fact, that the ‘Nations of the earth take counsel together,’ and oppose it?

“‘Nihilism,’ in Russia, and ‘Socialism,’ in Germany, may be *stamped out*, because *they* are political; but *Mormonism, never*: for it not only combines the fervid zeal and fanatical hardihood of ancient Mohammedanism, with the secrecy, and compact-

ness of Free Masonry ; but has superadded to these, the cunning, and policy, of the order of Jesuits, and is *intensely religious*.

“ They will now sing, with renewed gusto :

“ ‘ Each breeze that sweeps the Ocean,
Brings tidings from afar,
Of nations in commotion,
Prepared for Zion’s war.’

“ To the Mormon mind, their present outlook is simply glorious. The ‘ little leaven ’ that began to spread forty years ago, will soon ‘ leaven the whole lump.’

“ The ‘ wrath of man will be made to praise God : ’ while the ‘ Holy Father ’ protects His children ‘ in these valleys in the mountains,’ by so arraying one of the great political parties of the country against the other, that the government can do nothing, beyond the needed ‘ *persecution,*’ against ‘ God and His anointed.’

“ But should the proposed amendment be adopted, and a *national* law, based thereon, enacted, that would be operative, both in the *States* and Territories, Utah might safely be admitted as a State.* This done, the last wail of the persecuted must die away, and be lost in the concord, and harmony, of on-going progress ; and the only evil among the Mormons, against

* To govern Utah by a “ commission ”—such as Governor Murray and Ex-President Arthur recommended—in the present state of the political conscience, in this country, would not only be a powerful engine for intensifying and increasing Mormonism, but it would be to *organize* and *legalize* a band of thieves and robbers, simply because there is not one man in the United States whose *wisdom*, sense of honor, love of civil and religious liberty is such as to *fit* him to exercise *pro-consular* authority, who would accept the position. But there are thousands who would scheme for it ; hundreds who would buy it ; and not a few, who know the wealth of the fanatics to be blackmailed and plundered, who would not only *buy* a position on such a “ commission,” but promise semi-annual dividends on the working proceeds.

which we have a right to legislate, come utterly to an end : without disgracing the polygamous wives, who are the saddest victims, or bastardizing their helpless little ones, for whom the Saviour died."

The predictions, that I made, in 1877, and again in 1880, have since become history, and they accord with the *facts* of history, as perfectly as anything I could now write, concerning the events, then in the future, but now fulfilled.

The ink was scarcely dry, on the brief, quoted above, when the Mormon Conference ordered just double the usual annual number of Missionaries, to Europe, and in the same proportion for the United States.

It may be presumption, in me to question, either the wisdom, or justice, of Supreme Court decisions, but still I cannot but think, that it is not too much to say that, had the appellants, in the "Mormon" cases, been as respectable and influential as the appellants in the "Dred Scott" case, the decision might have been rendered according to the *letter* of the Constitution.

"The *letter* which *killeth*," in the "Dred Scott" case, so offended the spirit of freedom, then in active evolution, in this country, that it became a rallying cry, a potent factor, in bringing on the revolution that overthrew slavery. In like manner, a decision in the Mormon cases, in strict accord with the letter of the Constitution, would have so aroused the people, that an amendment to the Constitution—such as is here proposed—would have been adopted, ere this ; upon which the recent legislation against polygamy, could have rested, backed by the recently expressed will of the people ; just as in the case of slavery.

Chief Justice Taney said, in effect, in rendering the "Dred Scott" decision : "We do not find Negro rights, nor Negro citizenship, in the Constitution," and decided the case accordingly.

Chief Justice Waite said, in effect, in rendering the opinion in the "Reynolds" case—Mormon—"We *do find religion in the Constitution*, but we do not find it *defined*: we must, therefore, go *outside* of the Constitution, for a definition, that will enable us to decide." This decision, smacks somewhat of Thad. Ste-

phen's frank declaration, when he said, in "reconstruction" times, "We are not working under the Constitution: we are working *outside*."

If you ask, what of the Edmunds law, and its results, of which we see so much in the papers?

I will simply say, before passing to the other division of my subject; that the net results of that law, at the end of five years, will most probably be, from fifty to one hundred fanatics in the penitentiary; and four or five times that many Mormon wives, and mothers of men, converted into street-walking waifs, and destroyers of men, such as throng these streets to-night; and a large number of innocent, bastardized children, going to the bad: to say nothing of the corrupt fortunes made out of its enforcement. All of which, will greatly stimulate the growth of Mormonism.

II.

And now, what shall be proposed, as a remedy, for the insidious, ever-increasing evils, with which the Divorce-made-easy, system, has afflicted all classes of society? That other impure stream, flowing out of the allegorical lake, and spreading its poisonous virus everywhere; how shall it be cleansed? How purified?

But before proposing a remedy, let us briefly state the evils, and compute, if possible, their shocking vastness.

Such a statement cannot better begin, than with the weighty words of the Bishop of Long Island, in his Triennial Charge of last year, to his clergy. The Bishop said:

"The marriage bond, is the root, and ground of the Family. To the sanctions thrown around it, by natural laws, are added those of the Divine law. Plainly as God's will is written upon its foundations in nature, it is written even more plainly upon its foundations, as part of His supernatural economy. In this economy the natural is translated into the sacramental. Christ,

in whom nature, and grace, found their highest union, and completest utterance, included marriage among the things on which He legislated. He ennobled, and sanctified it by comparing with it His relation to the Church. To the absoluteness of the command: 'What God hath joined together, let no man put asunder:' He allowed but one exception. Now whatever assails the sacredness and integrity of this bond, correspondingly assails the sacredness and integrity of the Family. How they are assailed by the lax public sentiment, and the yet laxer laws upon the subject of divorce, is one of the scandals of the day. The public has of late been favored with ample statistics illustrative of its alarming increase. These statistics show, that in the States, where we would expect to find society best ordered, and its interests most carefully watched, divorces have doubled in thirty years, in proportion to marriages or population, and that the rate is highest in New England, and in parts of the Country settled by New England people; in other words, among the very people in whose habits of thought and conduct in religion and politics, the spirit of individualism has been most apparent. It is noteworthy, too, that the divorce rate, has quickly and surely corresponded with the diminishing stringency of divorce laws, and with the addition of new grounds of divorce.

"Recent exposures in this community* have opened our eyes to the carelessness and looseness with which divorce proceedings may be carried on, without seriously arousing public attention. We now know what a deeper concern for the purity and sacred-

* "In the records of the County Clerks's office of King's County, N. Y., three hundred (300) fraudulent cases of divorce have been found in one year. This brief search was so astounding in its results that the searcher lost courage and pursued the matter no further. Some of the parties to these cases have been arraigned for trial, but the law's slow delay, bristling at every step with technical obstructions, that seem to find a ready ear on the bench, has already greatly cooled the general indignation aroused by the exposure of this fearful rottenness under the very eyes, as it were, of the highest officers of justice."—Note to Bishop Littlejohn's "Triennial Charge to his Clergy," 1884.

ness of the Family, would have forced upon our notice long ago. It turns out, as we gather from the published facts, that in divorce cases, personal service of the libel is frequently evaded, and when printed notice is given, it may be done, so as to defeat the requirements of the law. Cases multiply, that are found to be based on fraud from beginning to end, and of late we have had forged documents, including the signatures of court officers, that escaped attention, until accident brought them to light. Often, the parties to the suits, and sometimes the lawyers that conduct them, are in collusion. Nor are the courts free from serious blame, for the haste with which they pass upon cases, and the frivolous grounds on which their decisions are allowed to turn. In one State it has been publicly asserted that the average time given by the courts, to a divorce suit, is a quarter of an hour. It is admitted by all familiar with this branch of the law, that no causes of importance are so slurred and slighted as those connected with the marriage bond. As one authority puts it, 'a dozen families will be declared non-existent, in half as many hours, by a court, that has spent a day or two, on an issue, involving five dollars, and no principal of law, worth ten minutes thought.' There is probably no other civilized country, in which such a state of things would be tolerated.

"It is not only a grievous scandal at home, but an occasion of astonishment abroad. I have cited it only to prove how demoralized upon the subject of the Family, and its most sacred interests, must be the public sentiment, that does not promptly and indignantly put an end to such dreadful assaults upon domestic life."

On the same day that the Bishop of Long Island delivered the "charge," from which the foregoing extract is taken; Senator Brown of Georgia, from his place in the United States Senate, delivered a speech, on the Utah polygamy question, from which I take also a brief passage.

These excerpts, and others that I will make, show how these kindred subjects—"Easy divorce, and Mormon polygamy"—springing from a common source, strike candid, thoughtful minds, in all parts of our common country.

Senator Brown said: "Christ was the authority of the Chris-

tian world on the subject of the marriage relation, and the one wife system. It necessarily followed, that He was, or should be, the authority for the dissolution of that relation. The rule laid down by Him was that whosoever should put away his wife, except for one cause, and should marry another, committed adultery, and whosoever married her, who had been put away, committed adultery. It followed that every man, who put away his wife, except for fornication, and married another, was an adulterer, the State law to the contrary notwithstanding. He was a bigamist, or polygamist, and the woman who had illegally put away her husband and married another, was guilty of polyandry, because she had two husbands living. This was as illegal according to the Divine law, as was the polygamy of Mormons.

“Similar offences, whether committed in the District of Columbia, or in Utah, should be punished with like severity. There was no escape from this position. It was as illegal for a man to have two wives in Massachusetts or Georgia, as in Utah.

“Mr. Brown contrasted the social question of Utah, with that elsewhere—the immorality of Utah (only found in the plural wife system) with immorality in other States and cities. The state of things was worse in other States than with the Mormons. Why punish the Mormon, and not the Gentile? Why not take hold of both, and deal with them alike?

“Mr. Brown contrasted what he termed the ‘polygamy’ of New England, and the polygamy of Utah, stating, that, while he had no purpose to attack New England, he made the comparison, between it and Utah, because New England had kept statistics of its crimes, while other States had not. The picture he drew, was drawn more in sorrow than anger.

“There had been over 27,000 divorces, granted in New England, within the last twenty years, destroying 27,000 families, and turning loose 54,000 persons to marry again—all illegally except those who were divorced for adultery in the other party.

“Assuming that one-third of them had been divorced for adultery, it would leave 36,000 persons divorced and married again,

who were practising polygamy in New England, while the Utah Commission, acting under the Edmund's bill, after having searched Utah with the test oath, could find but 12,000 men and women who could not swear that they had never in their lives been guilty of polygamy.

"Vice, avowed, blatant, and organized, hindered to some extent its own diffusion; but vice silent, and lurking, trickled into all the crevices of society. In Massachusetts, within the last twenty years population had increased 44 per cent., and marriages 62 per cent., while divorces increased 147 per cent. It behooved the Christian and the patriot, to ponder the consequences that must follow, from such a state of society. The churches denounced polygamy, and demanded its suppression, and the churches were right. But how? How then could they wink at illegal divorces; how without censure see their ministers officiating, for a petty fee, at adulterous marriages. If the ministers and the churches did their whole duty, public sentiment would soon sweep from our statute books the wicked and immoral divorce laws."

That, Senator Brown, is just what ought to be done.

But the general government, is the only broom, *big* enough, and *strong* enough, to "sweep" the *twin monsters*, MORMON POLYGAMY, AND EASY DIVORCE, into the gulf of oblivion.

It is vain to talk of what "the Ministers and Churches" can do, to overthrow these growing evils: except they give up their Christian quackery,* and act in their capacity of patriotic citi-

* By the term "Christian quackery," I do not mean to under-rate pure Christianity; or cast a doubt upon its power to renovate and save mankind.

But I do mean to say that the various, and discordant sects, that have dominated this country, that have lost the narrow zeal, for the small portion of Christian truth, with which their founders ran away from the Church of God, to establish churches of their own; have not the power to restore to this nation, its lost purity of morals. But they are *responsible*, as Senator Brown puts it, for the unchastity that makes divorces easy, and popular: and, as I have *proved*, Mormon polygamy, *possible*.

zens, bent upon saving our common country from impending ruin.

The multitude of warring sects—otherwise “Churches”—evolved the moral diseases, that now afflict the body politic; which Senator Brown asks these same “Churches” to cure.

“*Similia similibus curantur*,” will not operate on a scale so grand.

I have witnessed, for fourteen years, the operations of so-called Christian—otherwise sectarian—missions, in Utah; and I must honestly say, that the spectacle is neither edifying nor hopeful.

The presence of Mormonism, in Utah, and the various sects, that are trying to convert, and reclaim it; may be compared to the presence of various base ores in the same ledge or fissure, all containing silver, in greater or less quantities, combined with base metals, as zinc, antimony, arsenic, etc., etc.

As these base ores cannot act, nor react upon each other, so as to fuse, and then separate the nobler metal from the base; so neither can sectism act, nor react upon sectism, to any permanently good purpose.

With plenty of heat and moisture, and some reagents introduced into the fissure, these base ores may evolve a new compound, containing silver also, but it is base, still, and contains the impurities consequent upon its genesis.

Something like this we see, in the evolution of Godbeism, from Mormonism; which is a new form of Spiritualism, professing to perform miracles, and at the same time, it explains the true genesis of Mormonism, more nearly than any source of information, I have been able to consult. The Church Catholic, as contradistinguished from Romanism, on the one hand, and sectism on the other; with “the faith, once delivered to the Saints”; with her apostolic ministry; the sacraments; the sacred Scriptures; and in her midst the promised presence of the Third Person of the Ever Blessed Trinity, may be compared to a well appointed refiner’s furnace, which, under proper management, may fuse, all of these base ores, separating the noble metal from the base, and storing it in the Lord’s Treasury.

But the Church in Utah has not yet sat, "as a refiner and purifier of silver" to any great extent.*

Judge Noah Davis, of the Supreme Court, of the State of New York, has ably discussed the subject of Divorce, in the North American Review, for July, 1884.

I make the following extract, from his compact article, to show the *legal* complications that may, and do arise, under existing laws: and to show the remedy that has suggested itself, to at least *one* judicial mind.

"All who think upon the subject, will agree that uniformity of the grounds of divorce, ought to exist, throughout the States. This alone, will prevent, the incessant hegira from State to State, of persons seeking to escape the bonds of matrimony; and that vast procession of evils, that follows such efforts. It is a monstrous truth, that a person can quit the State of his residence, and leaving his wife and children behind, in a brief time, obtain in the Courts of another State, a decree of divorce, entirely valid in that State, but absolutely void in the Courts of other States. His remarriage is lawful there. It is felony elsewhere; and his guilt or innocence depends upon which side of an imaginary State line he happens to stand. This would be less important, if the status of his wife and children, past, present, and future, were not to be seriously affected by the decree. Let me illustrate:

"A. is married in New York, where he has resided for years, and has a family, and is the owner of real and other estate. He

* But seems content to care for a small and most unpromising element, which consists mainly of chronic beggars, who are not allowed, by the Mormons, to ply their trade, and maintain their standing, as "Saints;" consequently, they *apostatize*, and look to the source from whence come "the loaves and fishes," for support: as the following extract from Bishop Tuttle's report, for 1883, clearly shows.

"Poverty, ignorance, misery, disease, old age and sin make the numbers of the helpless and the infirm in Salt Lake City to be large. In caring for them extensively as we do, we are surely in the line of obedience to the Master's orders; and from heretics and unbelievers is won legitimately an amount of respect and

desires divorce and goes to Indiana, where that thing is cheap and easy. Upon complying with some local rule, and with no actual notice to his wife, he gets a decree of divorce and presently is married in that State to another wife, who brings him other children. He again acquires new estates; but tiring of his second wife, he deserts her, and goes to California, where in a brief space, he is again divorced, and then marries again, forming a new family, and acquiring new real and personal estates. In a few years his fickle taste changes again, and he returns to New York, where he finds his first wife has obtained a valid divorce for his adulterous marriage in Indiana, which sets her free, and forbids his marrying again during her lifetime. He then slips into an Eastern State, takes a residence, acquires real property there, and after a period gets judicially freed from his California bonds.

“He returns to New York, takes some new affinity, crosses the New Jersey line, and in an hour, is back in New York, enjoying so much of his estate as the Courts have not adjudged to his first wife, and gives new children to the world. At length his Master takes him. He dies intestate. Now, what is the legal status and the condition of the various citizens, he has given to our common Country? And what can the States of their birth or domicile do for them?”

approval for the Church which is of no small advantage to us, and, we hope, of some benefit to them.”

I do not agree with the Bishop, however, as to the *poverty* of which he speaks.

On the contrary: I believe there is no city in the world, of the same size, where so few people go to bed *hungry*.

If the “gentiles,” who run rum-shops, gambling hells, and houses of prostitution, and their “apostate” allies, would depart, and take with them, their “apostate” patrons, Salt Lake City would not only continue, as it now is, the best governed city on the Continent, but the happiest, and most *uniformly* well fed city, in the world.

But notwithstanding all this, I regard Mormon polygamy as a menace to pure Christianity, and a *retrograde* movement, *socially*, that ought to be stopped.

“A few words, will show how difficult, and important these questions are. The first wife’s children, are doubtless legitimate, and heirs to his estate everywhere. The Indiana wife’s children are legitimate there, but probably illegitimate everywhere else. The California children are legitimate there, and in New York, (that marriage having taken place after his first wife had obtained her divorce), but illegitimate in Indiana, and elsewhere, while the second crop of New Yorkers, are legitimate in the Eastern States, and New York, and illegitimate in Indiana and California.

“There is real and personal property in each of these States. There are four widows, each entitled to dower and distribution somewhere, and to some extent, and a large number of surely innocent children, whose legitimacy and property are at stake.

“All these legal embarrassments spring from want of uniformity of laws, on a subject which should admit of no more diversity than the question of citizenship itself.

“The only direct and effective way is to authorize the establishment of uniformity by the only power that can have universality of jurisdiction. It needs but two words added to the fourth subdivision of section 8 of the Constitution of the United States, so that it shall read:

“‘Congress shall have power to establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies *and divorce* throughout the United States.’ But we are told that this would produce ‘centralization’ whatever that may mean, and ought not to be done. But it is one of the very subjects on which centralization ought to exist, because, while it would leave the State Courts free to act in their respective spheres, Congress would so define the grounds of divorce and the jurisdiction of the subject that judgments would be universally binding and uniform; and that was one of the things in contemplation, in framing the Constitution. That would free us from the wickedness and crimes which now shame our administration of laws; and would elevate divorce, from a system of strategic deceptions and frauds, disgraceful to savages, to one of law and order.

“No questions of illegitimacy could arise, and citizens of the several States having the same father or mother, if legitimate at home, would be legitimate everywhere.

“I must conclude with this brief summary:

“Marriage is an institution divine in nature and origin; established by God, whether by the fiat of His supreme wisdom or through the operation of natural laws, evolving by survival, the fittest wisdom, and designed, and best adapted, by its union and unification of the sexes, to confer and preserve individual happiness, to create the family, and thereby to perpetuate the race, the people, and the State in the highest orders of civil government.

“This institution is the same, in whatever form created or solemnized, and as such is to be recognized and supported, by the wise laws of all civilized peoples, and when created by the contract of competent parties, is something superior to their volition, and indestructible by their separate or voluntary action. Whatever impairs or destroys its unity, and the fruits of its unity, is injurious to personal and public morality, and the general well-being, and good order of society; and is therefore to be repressed and restrained by law, and subordinated to the general good.

“Divorce is such an evil, and is therefore justly obnoxious to every repression, restraint, and limitation, consistent with the administration of that justice which looks to the common safety and happiness of man.”

I would amend Judge Davis' proposed amendment, of the Fourth subdivision, of section 8, of the Constitution of the United States, which reads:

“Congress shall have power to establish a uniform law of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies, *and divorce*, throughout the United States:” by inserting the word *marriage*, before the words, “and divorce,” so that it would read:

“Congress, shall have power to establish a uniform law of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies, *marriage, and divorce*, throughout the United States.”

I propose a universal, and uniform law of *marriage*, as well as a universal and uniform law of *divorce*, because, many of the evils of the present divorce system, grow out of the imperfect manner in which marriage is guarded.

But the conservative element, in some of the older, Southern

States, will ask, "Can we *trust* Congress to legislate upon this subject? Is it safe?"

If one has a deep, impassable chasm to cross, and there is no other possible means of escaping certain destruction, than by one of the two bridges that span it, one of which, is almost wholly rotten, and ready to fall, of its own weight, into the seething flood below; while the other is comparatively sound, with but here, and there, a rotten timber: which bridge would a sensible man choose? For he must needs go forward?

These two bridges, and their relative safety, aptly illustrate, the relative ability, of the legislatures of the States, and Territories, and the Congress of the United States, to apply an adequate remedy, for an evil that threatens to do, promptly, for us, what the same evil did for Imperial Rome,* under the lead of just such masculine women, and female men, as now follow in the wake of Mrs. Cady Stanton, who advocates, absolutely, "*free divorce*," † which means, of course, "free love," and "elective affinity."

* "As Rome rose to greatness by severity of family life, so she fell into ruins by laxity just at that point.

"Rome is a most interesting study for us Americans, because her vices, greed for gold, prodigality, a coarse material civilization, corruption in the family, as manifested by connubial unfaithfulness and by divorce, are increasing among us. Whether we are to be a thoroughly Christian nation, or to decay and lose our present political forms, depends upon our ability to keep family life pure and simple."—"Divorce and Divorce Legislation," by Theodore Woolsey, p. 49.

† "And to-day the only hope for the purification of manners and morals is in the free divorce; in elevating the ideal of marriage so that it shall consist of the spiritual as well as the physical element. Where unfitness exists, it would be for the interest of society for the state to step in (supposing authority in the matter an admitted fact), and insist on annulling the contract, instead of impeding a separation. The popular objections to divorce are unsound and contradictory."—Elizabeth Cady Stanton, *North American Review* for September, 1884.

Yes ! we had better trust Congress, for many reasons, some of which I will offer.

Notwithstanding the many disgraceful moral delinquencies of Senators who are happily now only *ex-Senators*; and some of the members of the lower House, that have become historic; notwithstanding the Cameron-Oliver episode; the Sharon-Hill infamy; the Christianson divorce stench; we had better trust Congress: for these are but the grosser features, of a type of Washington morality, that has cast off the modern New England dogma, that "sin consists, chiefly, in being *found out*."

We had better trust Congress, with this legislation, because the majority of national legislators, are of a higher type, and nobler mould, than a large percentage of the cheap, purchasable men, that legislate for the States and Territories, in that interest which pays them best, in the way of *cash bribes*, and *indirect considerations*, without reference to honor or honesty; who take no interest in the conservation of female chastity, and do not know the meaning of the word *integrity*, as applicable to home life.

We had better trust Congress, for the reason, that so far as a sense of shame can be brought home to a corrupt, impure, legislator, there is a better means of doing it, in Congress, than in the legislatures of the States and Territories.

Upon our general government at Washington, the eyes of the world are focused, and our representatives, in Congress assembled, will not do, openly, before mankind, what most of the States and Territories have done in their dark corners, at the instigation of lecherous men, and unchaste women.

When the question comes before them, for decision, whether this shall be a nation of homes, each having its *houseband*; with firesides blessed by pure, honest, "plighted," sacramentally bound, sexual love; from which streams of chastity, and patriotism shall continue to flow forth, and bless mankind: or a vast aggregation of individuals, each *bent* upon gratifying his or her *affinitive lust*: Congress will say, "give us homes of love; homes of chastity; homes of patriotism."

"But suppose you get your amendment adopted, giving to Congress the power to legislate on the subject of marriage, and divorce," wail the faithless Christian, and the lax moralist, in

concert; "You cannot make a stream rise higher than its source. If the people of the States and Territories, make the present divorce laws, their representatives, in Congress will reflect their ideas, and echo their words." I have already given some good reasons, why better things may be expected from Congress; and there are many additional reasons that can be given. But this trite figure drawn from the science of hydraulics, is the flood that is expected to drown everyone out, who urges a purer morality, or speaks of the desirableness of legislating against vice. The no-progress people, never tire of saying, "You cannot force a stream higher than its source": which means, I suppose,—if it means anything,—that we are to take the moral tone of society, as we find it, and be content, if we can keep it from going any lower.

But since men do, successfully apply artificial means, for raising water to a higher level than its source, I think governments ought to apply artificial means for elevating the morals of their citizens; which can best be done, in this instance, by protecting the integrity of the family.

As matter of fact, that is just what all enlightened governments have been endeavoring to do, ever since Moses gave to the world, the basis of civil law, and a moral code, that punished, with great severity, the sin of adultery; which is an almost sure accompaniment, and consequent, of modern divorce.

There is one thing, about this hydraulic simile, that I think, is hopeful: and that is the fact that, water *will rise* to a level with its source, if properly confined. Let us see, then, what this unvarying law, in natural philosophy, will do for us, if we but apply sufficient art to reap its benefits.

Suppose for the sake of the illustration, that we have forty-eight, boldly flowing springs, at different altitudes, in one long, deep canyon; and that their waters meet and commingle, forming a considerable river, that takes up its line of march for the sea: but on its way to the sea, this river has to pass between two perpendicular walls, very close together, where nature has left two powerful abutments, just opposite each other, thereby suggesting to the competent engineer, where he may put in a perfectly safe dam, that will be *higher* than the highest spring.

What would be the result ?

If the dam is secure, and the leaks are kept stopped, most of the water, so confined, will rise *higher* than its source: for the surface of the lake, so confined, must needs go as high as the *highest* spring.

Now let the forty-eight springs represent the forty-eight States and Territories; then the strong restraining dam, will represent my proposed national law of marriage and divorce.

If the law is made strong, and just, the low tone of morals, in some of the States and Territories, may be *forced* to rise, to the level of the higher.

Then would all pure people applaud the Engineers, who *built* this dam; the legislators who passed this strong, just law.

Would it not be a glorious thing for sound morality, and *pure* Christianity, if our people would rise in their might, and say: "It shall be as difficult to obtain a divorce in all the States, and Territories, as it is, in South Carolina" ?

This done; our government might almost say, in the language of Elisha, after purifying the unwholesome waters of a distressed region: "I have healed these waters, there shall be no more death from thence."

BALLARD S. DUNN.

Complete

CHRISTIAN THOUGHT.

Edited by CHARLES F. DEEMS, LL.D.

"CHRISTIAN THOUGHT" is the title of a Bi-Monthly Magazine, each number containing 80 pages, handsomely printed on good paper.

It contains the able Lectures and Papers read before the American Institute of Christian Philosophy, together with other articles, the best thoughts of the best thinkers in Europe and America.

Every Christian Family should have it. Every Christian parent who has a son at college should send it to him. Every Clergyman should read it. Every man who desires to antagonize the materialistic philosophy of the age should promote its circulation.

The *third volume* begins with *July number*, 1885.

The subscription for one year is TWO DOLLARS; single copies, FORTY CENTS EACH. (Specimen copy sent for 25 cents). Remittance must be made by check or postal order (or letter at sender's risk), and should be addressed

CHRISTIAN THOUGHT, 4 Winthrop Place, N. Y.

Agents wanted. Liberal commission. Send 30 cents for outfits.

THE HOME ALTAR.

By CHARLES F. DEEMS, LL.D. *Our New Edition Price Reduced to 75 cents.*

This is an Appeal in behalf of Family Worship, with Prayers and Hymns for the Family and a Calendar of Lessons from Scripture for every Day in the Year. A new edition.

Price reduced from \$1.25 to 75 cents.

From the many notices the following are selected:—

"This little volume we have read again and again, and cannot speak too well of it. There will be hardly any need of preaching on family prayers where it circulates."—BISHOP MCTYRE.

"It seems impossible to read it and continue delinquent in regard to the duty in question. The prayers are all catholic and scriptural."—REV. DR. SUMMERS.

"The appeal contained in it for family worship is the most powerful and persuasive we have ever read, and it seems to us, must be irresistible."—REV. W. H. HUNTER, Pittsburgh.

"It is one of the ablest essays on the subject we have ever read."—REV. DR. CROOKS.

"The argument in favor of family worship is perfectly irresistible."—REV. DR. WELLONS.

For sale by the Booksellers.

A Copy will be sent as a premium to any one forwarding \$2 for a new annual subscription to "Christian Thought," 4 Winthrop Place, New York.

HYMNS FOR ALL CHRISTIANS.

Compiled by Rev. Dr. DEEMS and the late PHEBE CARY. They examined at least 20,000 metrical compositions in Latin, German and English, and took the "cream" of this department of literature.

It is more than a mere Hymn Book. While it contains all the best hymns, it has also 100 lyrics, the highest and best devotional poems in the language. The poet Whittier says that all that are worthy to be called "Hymns" are in this collection. It is also enriched with notes, which add greatly to the value of the work. The typography, the paper, the binding, are all superior. For sale by all booksellers. A copy will be sent as a premium to any one forwarding \$2 for a new annual subscription to "Christian Thought," 4 Winthrop Place, New York.

WHAT NOW?

This is the title of a beautiful book intended to be a present to young ladies quitting school and entering life.

Whole classes in some of our leading institutions have received copies as presents on graduating. As a Christmas or birthday present, or token of kind regard for a young lady, nothing is more appropriate. The price is 50 cents. A copy will be sent as a premium to any one forwarding \$2 for a new annual subscription to "Christian Thought," 4 Winthrop Place, New York.

WEIGHTS AND WINGS.

We give the following as a specimen of the tone of all the notices of the press which we have seen:

"A very handsome volume, whose contents are well worthy of the faultless dress in which the publishers have sent them forth. No professing Christian who reads it thoughtfully can remain in doubt as to whether his Church membership is a help or a hindrance to his pastor—a "weight or a wing"—as he prosecutes his laborious and painfully responsible mission. The whole tendency of the book is to improve the relations of communicants to their pastors; and it would be remunerative to the latter to urge its circulation. There is a freshness and force about these forty-five chapters, which would never arouse the suspicion that the writer is the pastor of a large and popular city Church, and at the same time the editor of one of the foremost magazines of the country."—*Southern Christian Advocate.*

The price is \$1.00. A copy will be sent as a premium to any one forwarding \$4.00 for two new annual subscriptions to "Christian Thought," 4 Winthrop Place, N. Y.

A LIBRARY FOR FIVE DOLLARS.—The retail price of *Christian Thought* per volume is \$2; of *Home Altar*, 75 cents; of *Hymns for All Christians*, 75 cents; of *What Now?* 75 cents; of *Weights and Wings*, \$1.00. Any one will be sent at its price. But we offer all for \$4.00. For \$5.00 we will send all these and the first volume of "Christian Thought" bound; its retail price is \$2.00. Make orders payable to "Christian Thought," and address 4 Winthrop Place, New York.

